

SIR

FRANCIS
BACON

Wm 3267
Gibson 71

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HIS

APOLOGIE,

In certaine Imputations concern-
ing the late *Earle* of *ESSEX*.

WRITTEN

To the Right Honourable His very Good

LORD, the *Earle* of *DEVON-SHIRE*,

LORD LIVETENANT

OF

I R E L A N D.



London Printed, 1642.



TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE

His Very good Lord the Earle of Devon-
shire, Lord Lievtenant of *Ireland*.

IT may please Your good Lordship : I cannot be ignorant, and ought to bee sensible of the wrong which I sustaine in common speech, as if I had beene false, or unthankfull to that Noble, but unfortunate Earle the Earle of *Essex* : and for satisfying the vulgar sort, I doe not so much regard it ; though I love a good name, but yet as an handmaid and attendant of honesty and vertue. For I am of his opinion that said pleasantly, *That it was a shame to him that was a suter to the Mistresse, to make love to the waiting woman* ; and therefore to woo or Court common fame otherwise than it followeth upon honest courtesies, I for my part, finde not my selfe fit nor disposed. But on the other-side, there is no worldly thing that concerneth my selfe, which I hold more deare, then the good opinion of certaine persons ; amongst which there is none I would more willingly give satisfaction unto, then to your Lordship. First, because you loved my Lord of *Essex*, and therefore will not bee partiall towards mee, which is part of that I desire, next, because it hath ever pleased you to shew your selfe to me an honourable friend ; and so no baseness in me to seeke to satisfie you : and lastly, because I know your Lordship is excellently grounded in the true rules and habits of duties and moralities ; which must be they which shall decide this

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matter: wherein (my Lord) my defence needeth to be but simple and brieve: namely, that whatsoever I did concerning that action and proceeding, was done in my duty and service to the Queene and the State; in which I would not shew my selfe false-hearted nor faint hearted for any mans sake living. For every honest man, that hath his heart well planted, will forsake his King rather than forsake God, and forsake his friend rather than forsake his King; and yet will forsake any earthly commodity, yea and his owne life in some cases, rather than forsake his friend. I hope the world hath not forgotten these degrees, else the heathen saying: *Amicus usque ad aras*, shall judge them. And if any man shall say, that I did officiously intrude my selfe in that businesse, because I had no ordinary place; the like may be said of all the businesse in effects that passed the hand of the learned counsel, either of State or Revenues these many Yeares wherein I was continually used. For as your Lordship may remember, the Queene knew her strength so well as she looked her word should be a warrant; and after the manner of the choicest Princes before her, did not alwayes tie her trust to place, but did sometime devide private favour from office. And I for my part, though I was not so unseene in the world, but I knew the condition was subject to envie and perill; yet because I knew againe shee was constant in her favours, and made an end where she began, and specially, because she upheld mee with extraordinary accessse, and other demonstrations of confidence and grace, I resolved to endure it, in expectation of better. But my scope and desire is, that Your Lordship would be pleased to have the Honourable patience, to know the truth in some particularity of all that passed in this cause, wherein I had any part, that you may perceive how honest a heart I ever bare to my Sovereigne and to my Country, and to that Nobleman, who had so well deserved of me, and so well accepted of my deservings; whose fortune I cannot remember without much griefe. But for any action of mine towards him, there is nothing that passed me in my life time, that commeth to my remembrance with more clearenesse and lesse checke of Conscience: for it will appeare to your Lordship, that I was not onely not opposite to my Lord of *Essex*, but that I did occupy the utmost of my wit, and adventure my fortune with the Queene to have reintegrated his, and so continued

tinued faithfully and industriously till his last fatall impatience, (for so I will call it) after which day there was not time to worke for him, though the same my affection when it could not worke upon the subject proper, went to the next, with no ill effect towards some others, who I thinke doe rather not know it, then not acknowledge it. And this I will assure your Lordship, I will leave nothing untold that is truth for any enemy that I have to adde; and on the other side, I must reserve much which makes for mee, upon many respects of duty, which I esteeme above my credit: and what I have here set downe to your Lordship, I protest, as I hope to have any part in Gods favour, is true.

It is well knowne, how I did many yeares since dedicate my travels and studies to the use and (as I may terme it) service of my Lord of *Essex* which I protest before God, I did not making election of him as the likeliest meane of mine owne advancement, but out of the humor of a man, that ever, from the time I had any use of reason (whether it were reading upon good bookes, or upon the example of a good father, or by nature) I loved my Countrie more than was answerable to my fortune, and I held at that time, my Lord to be the fitter instrument to doe good to the State: and therefore I applied my selfe to him, in a manner which I thinke happeneth rarely amongst men: for I did not onely labour carefully and industriously in that he set me about, whether it were matter of advice or otherwise, but neglecting the Queenes service, mine owne fortune, and in a sort my vocation, I did nothing but advise and ruminare with my selfe to the best of my understanding, propositions and memorials, of any thing that might concerne his Lordships honour, fortune, or service. And when not long after I entred into this course, my brother Master *Anthony Bacon* came from beyond the Seas, being a Gentleman whose abilities the world taketh knowledge of for matters of State, specially forreigne; I did likewise knit his service to be at my Lords disposing. And on the other side, I must and will ever acknowledge my Lords love, trust, and favour towards me, last of all his liberality, having incoffed me of Land which I sold for 18. hundred pounds to Master *Reynold Nicholas*, and I thinke was more worth, and that at such a time and with so kinde and noble circumstances, as the manner was as much as the matter: which though it be but an
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idle digression, yet because I am not willing to bee short in commemoration of his benefits, I will presume to trouble your Lordship with the relating to you the manner of it, after the Queene had denied mee the Solicitors place for the which his Lordship had been a long and earnest sutor on my behalfe, it pleased him to come to mee from *Richmond* to *Twickenham* Parke, and brake with me and said Master *Bacon*, the Queene hath denied me yon place for you, and hath placed another; I know you are the least part of your owne matter, but, you fare ill because you have chosen me for your meane and dependance: you have spent your time & thoughts in my matters; I die (these were his very words) if I doe not somewhat towards your fortune: you shall not deny to accept a peece of Land, which I will bestow upon you. My answer I remember was, that for my fortune it was no great matter: but that his Lordships offer made me call to minde what was wont to bee said when I was in *France* of the Duke of *Guise*, that he was the greatest Viceroy in *France* because he had turned all his estate into Obligations; meaning that he had left himselfe nothing, but only had bound numbers of persons to him. Now my Lord (said I) I would not have you immitate his course, nor turne your state thus by great gifts into obligations, for you will finde many bad debtors. He bad me take no care for that, and pressed it: whereupon I said My Lord, I see I must be your homager, and hold land of your gift: but doe you know the manner of doing homage in Law? alwayes it is with a saving of his faith to the King and his other Lords, and therefore my Lord (said I) I can bee no more yours then I was, and it may be with the ancient savings: and if I grow to be a richman, you will give me leave to give it backe to some of your unewardred followers. But to returne, sure I am (though I can arrogate nothing to my selfe, but that I was a faithfull remembrance to his Lordship) that while I had most credit with him, his fortune went on best. And yet in two maine points wee alwayes directly and contradictorily differed; which I will mention to your Lordship, because it giveth light to all that followed. The one was, I ever set this down, that the only course to be held with the Queene, was by obsequiousnesse and observance; and I remember I would usually gage confidently, that if he would take that course constantly, and with choise of good particulars to
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expresse it, the Queen would be brought in time to *Asserius* question, to aske, *What should be done to the man, that the King would honour*: meaning, that her goodnesse was without limit, where there was a true concurrence, which I knew in her nature to bee true. My Lord on the other side had a settled opinion, that the Queene could be brought to nothing, but by a kinde of necessitie and authority; and I will remember, when by violent courses at any time he had got his will he would aske me: Now Sir, *whose principles be true?* and I would againe say to him: *My Lord these courses be like to hot waters, they will help at a pang: but if you use them, you shal spoile the stomack, & you shal be faine stil to make them stronger and stronger, and in the end they will lesse their operation*: with much other variety, wherewith I used to touch that string. Another point was, I alwayes vehemently dissuaded him from seeking greatnes by a military dependance, or by a popular dependance, as that wch would breed in the Queen jealousie, in himselfe presumption, and in the State perturbation: And I did usually compare them to *Iearus* two wings which were joyned on with wax, and would make him venture to soare too high, and then faile him at the height. And I would further say unto him: My Lord, stand upon two feet, and flie not upon two wings. The two feet, are the two kinds of Justice, *Commutative* and *Distributive*: use your greatnesse for advancing of merit and vertue, and relieving wrongs and burdens, you shall need no other art or finenesse: but hee would tell mee, that opinion came not from my minde, but from my robe, But it is very true, that I, that never meant to in-thrall my selfe to my Lord of *Essex*, nor any other man, more than stood with the publike good, did (though I could little prevaile) divert him by all meanes possible from courses of the Warrres and popularitie: for I saw plainly the Queene must either live or die; if she lived, then the times would bee as in the declination of an old Prince; if shee died; the times would bee as in the beginning of a new: and that if his Lordship did rise too fast in these courses, the times might be dangerous for him, and he for them: Nay, I remember. I was thus plaine with him upon his voyage to the Ilands, when I saw every spring put forth such actions of Charge and provocation, that I said to him: My Lord, when I came first unto you, I tooke you for a Phylitian that desired to cure the diseases of the

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State; but now I doubt you will bee like those Physicians, which can bee content to keepe their patients low, because they would alwayes be in request: which plainesse he neverthelesse took very well, as he had an excellent care, and was *patientissima veri*, and assured mee the case of the Realme required it: and I thinke this speech of mine, and the like renewed afterwards, pricked him to write that Apologie which is in many mens hands.

But this difference in two points so maine and materiall, bred in proesse of time a discontinuance of privateries (as it is the manner of men seldome to communicate where they thinke their courses not approved) betweene his Lordship and my selfe; so as I was not called nor advised with, for some yeere and a halfe before his Lordships going into *Ireland* as in former time: yet neverthelesse touching his going into *Ireland*, it pleased him expressely and in a set manner to desire mine opinion and counsell. At which time I did not onely dissuade, but protest against his going, telling him with as much vehemency and asseveration as I could, that absence in that kind would exulcerate the Queens mind whereby it would not be possible for him to carry himselfe so, as to give her sufficient contentment: nor for her to carry her selfe so, as to give him sufficient countenance, which would be ill for her, ill for him, and ill for the State. And because I would omit no argument, I remember I stood also upon the difficulty of the action: setting before him out of Histories, that the *Irish* was such an enemy as the ancient *Gauls* or *Britons*, or *Germanes* were, and that wee saw how the *Romans*, who had such discipline to governe their Soldiers, and such donatives to encourage them, and the whole world in a manner to leavie them; yet when they came to deale with enemies which placed their felicity only in liberty, and the sharpnesse of their sword, and had the naturall and elementall advantages of woods, and bogges, and hardnesse of bodies, they ever found they had their hands full of them: and therefore concluded that going over with such expectation as he did, and through the churlishnesse of the enterprise not like to answer it, would mightily diminish his reputation; and many other reasons I used: so as I am sure I never in any thing in my life time dealt with him in like earnestnesse by speech, by writing, and by all the meanes I could devise. For I did as plainly see his overthrow chained as it were
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by destinie to that journey, as it is possible for any man to ground a judgement upon future contingents. But my Lord, howsoever his care was open, yet his heart and resolution was shut against that advise, whereby his ruine might have been prevented. After my Lords going I saw how true a Prophet I was, in regard of the evident alteration which naturally succeeded in the Queens mind; and thereupon I was still in watch to find the best occasion that in the weakenesse of my power I could either take or minister, to pull him out of the fire if it had beene possible: and not long after, me thought I saw some overture thereof, which I apprehended readily; a particularity I thinke be knowne to very few, and the which I doe the rather relate to your Lordship, because I heare it should be talked, that while my Lord was in *Ireland*, I revealed some matter against him or I cannot tell what, which if it were not a meere slander as the rest is, but had any though never so little colour, was surely upon this occasion. The Queene one day at *Nonesuch*, a little (as I remember) before *Cusses* comming over, I attending her, shewed a passionate distate of my Lords proceedings in *Ireland*, as if they were unfortunate, without judgement, contemptuous, and not without some private end of his own and all that might bee, and was pleased as she spake of it to many that she trusted least, so to fall into the like speech with me; whereupon I who was still awake, and true to my grounds which I thought surest for my Lords good, said to this effect: Madam, I know not the particulars of Estate, and I know this, that Princes actions must have no abrupt periods or conclusions, but otherwise I would thinke, that if you had my Lord of *Essex* here with a white staffe in his hand, as my Lord of *Leicester* had, and continued him still about you for society to your selfe, and for an honour and Ornament to your attendance and Court in the eyes of your people, and in the eyes of forraigne Embassadors, then were he in his right element: for, to discontent him as you doe, and yet to put armes and power into his hands, may be a kinde of temptation to make him prove cumbersome and unruly.

And therefore if you would *imponere benam clausulam*, and send for him, and satisfie him with honour here neare you, if your affaires which (as I have said) I am not acquainted with, will permit it, I think were the best way.

Which course your Lordship knoweth, if it had been taken, then all had been well, and no contempt in my Lords comming over, nor continuance of these jealousies, which that employment of *Ireland* bred; and my Lord here in his former greatnesse. Well, the next newes that I heard, was, that my Lord was come over, and that he was committed to his Chamber for leaving *Ireland* without the Queenes licence: this was at *None such*, where (as my duty was) I came to his Lordship, and talked with him privately about a quarter of any houre, and hee asked mine opinion of the course was taken with him; I told him: My Lord, *Nubecula est, cito transibit*: It is but a mist: but shall I tell your Lordship, it is as mists are, if it goe upwards, it may haps cause a showre, if downwards, it will cleare up. And therefore good my Lord carrie it so, as you take away by all meanes all ombrages and distasts from the Queen, and especially if I were worthy to advise you, (as I have bin by your selfe thought, and now your question imports the continuance of that opinion) observe three points: First, make not this cessation or peace which is concluded with *Tyrone*, as a service wherein you glorie, but as a shuffling up of a prosecution which was not very fortunate. Next, represent not to the Queene any necessitie of estate, whereby as by a coercion or wrench, she should thinke her selfe inforced to send you backe into *Ireland* but leave it to her. Thirdly, seeke access *importune, opportune*, seriously, sportingly every way. I remember my Lord was willing to heare mee, but spake very few words, and shaked his head sometimes, as if hee thought I was in the wrong; but sure I am, hee did just contrary in every one of these three points. After this, during the while since my Lord was committed to my Lord Keepers, I came divers times to the Queene, as I had used to doe, about causes of her revenue and Law businesse, as is well knowne: by reason of which accesses, according to the ordinary charities of Court, it was given out, that I was one of them that incensed the Queene against my Lord of *Essex*. These speeches I cannot tell, nor I will not think that they grew any way from her Majesties own speeches, whose memory I will ever honour: if they did, she is with God, and *miserum est ab illis ladi, de quibus non possis queri*. But I must give this testimony to my Lord *Cecill*, that one time in his house at *he Savoy* he dealt with me directly, and said to me, Cousin, I heare it.

it, but I beleeve it not, that you should do some ill office to my Lord of *Essex*: for my part I am meerely passive and not active in this action, and I follow the Queen and that heavily, and I lead her not; my Lord of *Essex* is one that in nature I could consent with as well as with any one living; the *Queene* indeed is my Sovereigne, and I am her creature, I may not leese her, and the same course I would wish you to take: whereupon I satisfied him how farre I was from any such mind. And as sometimes it commeth to passe, that mens inclinations are opened more in a toy, then in a serious matter: A little before that time, being about the middle of *Michelmasse* Terme, Her Majestie had a purpose to dine at my lodge at *Twickenham* Parke, at which time I had (though I professe not be a Poet) prepared a Sonnet directly tending and alluding to draw on Her Majesties reconciliation to my Lord, which I remember also I shewed to a great person, and one of my Lords nearest friends, who commended it: this though it be (as I said) but a toy, yee it shewed plainly in what spirit I proceeded, and that I was ready not onely to doe my Lord good offices, but to publish and declare my selfe for him; and never was so ambitious of any thing in my life time, as I was to have carried some token or favour from her Majestie to my Lord, using all the art I had, both to procure her Majestie to send, and my selfe to bee the messenger: for as to the former, I feared not to alleadge to her, that this proceeding toward my Lord, was a thing towards the people very implausible, and therefore wished her Majestie howsoever shee did, yet to discharge her selfe of it; and to lay it upon others, and therefore that she should intermixe her proceeding with some immediate graces from her selfe, that the world might take knowledge of her Princely nature and goodnesse, lest it should alienate the hearts of her people from her. Which I did stand upon, knowing very well, that if shee once relented to send or visite, those demonstrations would prove matter of substance for my Lords good. And to draw that employment upon my selfe, I advised her Majestie, that whensoever God should move her to turne the light of her favours towards my Lord, to make signification to him thereof: that her Majestie if she did it not in person, would at the least use some such meane as might not intitle themselves to any part of the thanks, as persons that were thought mightie with her, to worke her; or

to bring her about; but to use some such as could not be thought but a meere conduct of her owne goodnesse: but I could never prevaile with her, though I am perswaded thee saw plainly whereat I levelled: but thee had me in jealousie, that I was not hers intirely, but still had inward and deepe respects towards my Lord, more than stood at that time, with her will and pleasure. About the same time I remember an answer of mine in a matter which had some affinity with my Lords cause, which though it grew from me, went after about in others names. For her Majestie being mightily incensed with that booke which was dedicated to my Lord of *Essex*, being a story of the first yeare of King *Henry* the fourth, thinking it a seditious prelude to put into the peoples heads boldnesse and faction, said, she had good opinion, that there was treason in it, and asked me if I could not find any places in it that might be drawn within case of treason: whereto I answered; for treason surely I found none, but for felony very many. And when her Majesty hastily asked me wherein; I told her, the Author had committed very apparent theft, for he had taken most of the sentences of *Cornelius Tacitus*, and translated them into English, and put them into his text. And another time when the Queene would not be perswaded, that it was his writing whose name was to it, but that it had some more mischievous Author, and said with great indignation, that shee would have him racked to produce his Author, I replied, Nay Madam, he is a Doctor, never racke his person, but racke his stile; let him have pen inke, and piper, and help of books, and be enjoined to continue the story wherein it breaketh off, and I will undertake by collecting the stiles, to judge whether he were the Author or no. But for the maine matter, sure I am, when the Queene at that time asked mine opinion of my Lords case, I ever in one tenor, said unto her: that they were faults which the Law might tearme Contempts, because they were the transgression of her particular directions and instructions: but then what defence might be made of them, in regard of the great interest the person had in her Majesties favour, in regard of the greatnesse of his place, and the amplenesse of his Commission; in regard of the nature of the businesse being action of War, which in common cases cannot be tyed to strictnesse of instructions, in regard of the distance of the place, having also a Sea betwixt us, that demands and commands, must be subject to wind and

and weather ; in regard of a counsell of State in *Ireland* which he had at his back to avow his actions upon, and lastly in regard of a good intention that he would alleage for himselfe, which I told her in some religions was held to bee a sufficient dispensation for Gods Commandements, much more for Princes. In all these regards, I besought her Majestie to be advised again & again, how she brought the cause in of any publike question : Nay, I went further, for I told her, my Lord was an eloquent and well spoken man, and besides his eloquence of nature or art, he had an eloquence of accident which passed them both, which was the pittie and benevolence of his hearers ; and therefore that when he should come to his answer for himselfe, I doubted his words would have so unequal passage above theirs that should charge him, as would not be for her Majesties honour ; and therefore wished the conclusion might bee, that they might wrap it up privately between themselves, and that she would restore my Lord to his former attendance, with some addition of honour to take away discontent. But this I will never deny, that I did shew no approbation generally of his being sent backe againe into *Ireland*, both because it would have carried a repugnancy with my former discourse, and because I was in mine owne heart fully perswaded, that it was not good neither for the Queene, nor for the State, nor for himselfe : and yet I did not dissuade it neither, but left it ever as *locus lubricus*. For this particularitie I doe well remember, that after your Lordship was named for the place in *Ireland*, and not long before your going, it pleased her Majestie at *White Hall* to speake to me of that nomination : at which time I said to her : Surely Madam, if you meane not to imploy my Lord of *Essex* thither againe, your Majestie cannot make a better choise, and was going on to shew some reason ; and her Majestie interrupted me with great passion : *Essex !* (said she) whensoever I find *Essex* back againe into *Ireland*, I will marie you, claime it of me : whereunto I said ; Well Madam, I will releate that contract if his going be for the good of your State. Immediately after the Queene had thought of a course (which was also executed) to have somewhat published in the Starre-Chamber, for the satisfaction of the world touching my Lord of *Essex* his restraint, and my Lord of *Essex* not to be called to it, but occasion to be taken by reason of some Libels then dispersed ; which when her Majestie propounded unto

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mee, I was utterly against it ; and told her plainly, that the people would say, that my Lord was wounded upon his backe, and that Justice had her ballance taken from her, which ever consisted of an accusation and defence, with many other quicke and significant tearmes to that purpose : in so much that I remember I said, that my Lord *in foro fame* was too hard for her ; and therefore wished her as I had done before, to wrap it up privately. And certainly I offended her at that time, which was rare with me : For I call to minde that both the *Christmasse*, *Lent*, and *Easter* term following, though I came diverse times to her upon Law businesse, yet me thought her face and manner was not so cleare and open to me, as it was at the first. And she did directly charge me, that I was absent that day at the Star-Chamber, which was very true but I alleadged some indisposition of body to excuse it : and during all the time aforesaid, there was *altum silentium* from her to mee touching my Lord of *Essex* causes. But towards the end of *Easter* tearme, her Majestie brake with me, and told me that she had found my words true, for that the proceeding in the Star-Chamber had done no good, but rather kindled factious bruits (as she tearmed them) then quenched them, and therefore that shee was determined now for the satisfaction of the world, to proceed against my Lord in the Star-Chamber by an information *ore tenus*, and to have my Lord brought to his answer : howbeit she said she would assure me that whatsoever she did, should be towards my Lord *ad castigationem*, & *non ad destructionem*, as indeed she had often repeated the same phrased before : whereunto I said (to the end utterly to divert her :) Madam if you will have me to speake to you as Frier *Bacons* head spake, that said first, *Time is*, and then, *Time was*, and, *time would never be*; for certainly (said I) it is now far to late, the matter is cold and hath taken too much winde ; whereat she seemed againe offended and rose from me, and that resolution for a while continued ; and after, in the beginning of Midsummer tearme, I attending her, and finding her settled in that resolution (which I heard of also otherwise) shee falling upon the like speech, it is true, that seeing no other remedy, I said to her slightly, Why Madam, if you will needs have a proceeding, you were best have it in some such sort as *Ovid* spake of his Mistris, *Est aliquid luce patente minus*, to make a counsel table matter of it, and there an end ; which speech she seem'd to take in ill part, but yet I thinke

think it did good at that time; and hope to divert that course of proceeding by information in the Star-Chamber. Nevertheless, it pleased her to make a more solempne matter of the proceeding, and some few dayes after when order was given that the matter should bee heard at *Yorke* house, before an assembly of Councillors, Peeres, and Judges, and some audience of men of qualitie to be admitted: and then did some principall Counsellors send for us of the Learned Counsell, and notifie her Majesties pleasure unto us, save that it was said to mee openly by one of them, that her Majesty was not yet resolved whether she would have me forborne into bulinesse or no. And hereupon might arise that other sinister and untrue speech that I heare is raised of me, how I was a suter to be used against my Lord of *Essex* at that time: for it is very true, that I that knew well what hath passed betweene the Queene and mee, and what occasion I had given her both of distast and distrust, in crossing her disposition, by standing stedfastly for my Lord of *Essex*, and suspecting it also to be a stratagem arising from some particular emulation, I write to her two or three words of complement, signifying to her Majestie, that if she would be pleased to spare me in my Lord of *Essex* cause, out of the consideration she took of my obligation towards him, I should reckon it for owne of her highest favours: but otherwise desiring her Majestie to thinke that I knew the degrees of duties, and that no particular obligation whatsoever to any subject could supplant or weaken that entirenesse of duty that I did owe and beare to her and her services; and this was the goodly sute I made, being a respect no man that had his wits could have omitted: but nevertheless I had a further reach in it, for I judged that dayes worke would be a full period of any bitterness or harshnesse betweene the Queene and my Lord, and therefore if I declared my selfe fully according to her mind at that time, which could not doe my Lord any manner of prejudice, I should keep my credit with her ever after, whereby to do my Lord service. Hereupon the next newes that I heard, was, that we were all sent for againe, and that her Majesties pleasure was, we al should have parts in the bulinesse; and the Lords falling into distribution of our parts, it was allotted to me, that I should set forth some undutifull carriage of my Lord, in giving occasion and countenance to a seditious Pamphlet, as it was termed, which was dedicated unto him, which was the booke before mentioned of King *Henry* the fourth. Whereupon I replied to that allotment; and said to their Lordships, that it was an old matter, and had no manner of coherence with the rest of the charge, being matters of Ireland, and therefore that I having bene wronged by bruits before, this would expose me to them.

more; and it would be said, I gave in evidence mine owne tales. It was answered againe with good shew, that because it was considered how I stood tyed to my Lord of *Essex*, therefore that part was thought fittest for me which did him least hurt: for that, whereas all the rest was matter of charge and accusation, this only was but matter of caveat and admonition. Wherewith though I was in mine one mind little satisfied, because I knew well a man were better to bee charged with some faults, then admonished of some others: yet the conclusion binding upon the Queenes pleasure directly, *volens nolens*, I could not avoyd that part that was laid upon me; which part if in the delivery I did handle not tenderly (though no man before me did in so cleare tearms free my Lord from all disloyalty as I did) that your Lordship knoweth, must be ascribed to the superior duty I did owe to the Queenes fame and honour in a publike proceeding, and partly to the intention I had to uphold my selfe in credit and strength with the Queene, the better to be able to doe my Lord good offices afterwards: for as soone as this day was past, I lost no time, but the very next day following (as I remember) I attended her Majesty, fully resolved to try and put in ure my utmost indeavour (so far as in my weaknes could give furtherance) to bring my Lord againe speedily into Court and into favour, and knowing (as I supposed at least) how the Queen was to be used, I thought that to make her conceive that the matter went well then, was the way to make her leave off there; and I remember well, I said to her, you have now Madam obtained victory over two things which the greatest Princes in the world cannot at their wills subdue: the one is over Fame, the other is over a great minde: for surely the world is now (I hope) reasonably well satisfied; and for my Lord, he did shew that humiliation towards your Majestie, as I am perswaded he was never in his life time more fit for your favour then he is now: therefore your Majestie will not marre it by lingring, but give over at the best, and now you have made so good a full point receive him again with tenderesse, I shall then think that all that is past, is for the best. Whereat I remember she took exceeding great contentment, and did often iterate and put me in mind, that she hath ever said, that her proceedings should be *ad reparationem*, and not *ad ruinam*, as who saith, that now was the time I should well perceive, that that saying of hers should prove true. And further shee willed mee to set downe in writing all that passed that day. I obeyed her commandement, and within some few dayes brought her againe the narration, which I did read unto her at two severall after noones: and when I came to that part that set forth my Lords owne answer (which

was my principall care) I do well beare in my mind, that she was extraordinarily moved with it, in kindnes & relenting towards my Lord, and told me afterwards (speaking how well I had expressed my Lords part) that he perceived old love would not easily be forgotten: whereto I answered suddenly, that I hoped she meant that by her selfe. But in conclusion, I did advise her, that now she had taken a representation of the matter to her selfe, that she would let it go no further: for Madam (said I) the fire blazeth well already, what should you tumble it: and besides it may please you to keep a convenience with your selfe in this case: for since you expresse direction was, there should be no Register nor Clerk to take this sentence, nor no record or memoriall made up of the proceeding, why should you now do that popularly, which you would not admit to be done judicially? Whereupon she did agree, that that writing should be suppressed, and I think there were not 5. persons that ever saw it. But from this time forth during the whole latter end of that Summer, while the court was at *None such & Otlands*, I made it my taske to take & give occasions for my Lords reintegration in his fortune: w^h my Intention did also signifie to my Lord, as soone as ever he was at his liberty; wherby I might without perill of the Queens indignation write to him, and having received from his Lordship a courteous and loving acceptation of my good will and indeavours, I did apply it in all my accesses to the Queen which were very many at that time, and purposely fought and wrought upon other variable pretences, but only and chiefly for that purpose. And on the other side, I did not forbear to give my Lord from time to time faithfull advertisement what I found, and what I wished. And I drew for him by his appointment some letters to her Majesty. which though I knew well his Lordships gift and stile was farre better than mine owne, yet because he required it alleading that by his long restraint he was grown almost a stranger to the Queens present concepts, I was ready to performe it: and sure I am for the space of sixe weeks, or two moneths it prospered so well, as I expected continually his restoring to his attendance. And I was never better welcom to the Queen, nor more made of, then when I spake fullest and boldest for him: in which kind the particulars were exceeding many, whereof for an example I will remember to your Lordship one or two; as at one time I call to mind, her Majestie was speaking of a fellow that undertooke to cure, or at least, to ease my brother of his Goute, and asked me how it went forwards; and I told her Majestie, that at the first hee received good by it, but after in the course of his cure hee found himselfe at a stay or rather worse: the Q V E E N E said

again, I will tell you *Bacon* the error of it, the manner of these Physicians and especially these Empericks is to continue one kinde of medicine, which at the first is proper, being to draw out the ill humor, but after they have not the discretion to change their medicine, but apply still drawing medicines, when they should rather intend to cure and corroborate the part. Good Lord Madam (said I) how wisely and aptly can you speak and discerne of Physicke ministred to the body, and consider not that there is the like occasion of Physick ministred to the mind : as now in case of my Lord of *Essex*, your Princely word ever was, that you intended ever to reforme his mind, and not ruine his fortune : I know well you cannot but think that you have drawne the humor sufficiently, and therefore it were more than time, and it were but for doubt of mortifying or exulcerating, that you did apply and minister strength and comfort unto him : for these same gradations of yours are fitter to corrupt then correct any mind of greatnes. And an other time I remember she told me for news, that my LORD had written unto her some very dutifull letters, and that she had bin moved by them, and when she took it to be but a preparative to a suite for the renewing of his farme of sweet wines : whereunto I replied ; O Madam, how doth your Majestie conster of these things, as if these two could not stand well together, which indeed nature hath planted in all creatures. For there are but two sympathies, the one towards perfection, the other towards *Preservation*. That to perfection, as the iron contendeth to the Loadstone : that to Preservation, as the vine will creepe towards a stake or prop that stands by it, not for any love to the stake, but to uphold it selfe. And therefore Madam, you must distinguish my Lords desire to do you service, is as to his perfection, that which he thinkes himselfe to bee borne for : whereas his desire to obtaine this thing of you, is but for a sustentation. And not to trouble your Lordship with many other particulars like unto these, it was at the selfe same time that I did draw with my Lords privitie, and by his appointment, two letters, the one written as from my brother, the other as an answer returned from my Lord, both to bee by mee in secret manner shewed to the Queene, which it pleased my Lord very strangely to mention at the barre : the scope of which were but to represent and picture forth unto her Majesty my Lords mind to be such, as I knew her Majesty would fainest have had it, which letters whosoever shal see, (for they cannot now be retracted or altered, being by reason of my brothers, or his Lordships servants delivery, long since comming into diverse hands) let him judge, specially if he knew the Queene, and do remember those times, whether they were not the labours of one that sought to bring the Queene about for my Lord of *Essex* his good. The troth is, that the issue of all his de-

sing grew to this, that the Queen by some slacknesse of my Lords, as I
 imagine, liked him worse and worse, and grew more incensed towards
 him. Then, she remembring belike the continuall, and incessant, and
 confident speeches and courtes that I had held on my Lords side, becam
 utterly alienated from me, and for the space of (at least) three months,
 which was betweene *Michaelmasse* and *New-yares* tide following,
 would not as much as look on me, but turned away from mee with ex-
 presse and purpose-like discountenance wheresoever she saw me : and
 at such time as I desired to speake with her about Law businesse; ever
 sent me forth very slight refusa's, insomuch as it is most true, that im-
 mediately after *New-yares* tide I desired to speak with her; and being
 admitted to her, I dealt with her plainely and said : Madam I see you
 withdraw your favour from me, and now I have lost many friends for
 your sake, I shall leese you too : you have put me like one of those that
 the Frenchmen call *Enfans perdus*, that serve on foot before horsemen,
 so have you put mee into matters of envie without place, or without
 strength : and I know at Chess a pawne before the King, is ever much
 plaid upon : a great many love me not, because they thinke I have been
 against my Lord of *Essex* ; and you love mee not, because you know I
 have been for him : yet will I never repent me, that I have dealt in sim-
 plicitie of heart towards you both, without respect of cautions to my
 selfe : and therefore *vivum vidensque perco*. If I doe breake my necke, I
 shall doe it in a manner as Mr. *Dorrington* did it, which walked on the
 battlements of the Church many dayes, and tooke a view and survey
 where he should fall : and so Madam (said I) I am not simple, but that
 I take a prospect of mine overthrow, only I thought I would tell you so
 much, that you may know that it was faith, and not folly that brought
 me into it, and so I will pray for you. Vpon which speeches of mine
 uttered with some passion, it is true her Majestie was exceedingly mo-
 ved, and accumulated a number of kinde and gracious words upon me,
 and willed mee to rest upon this, *Gratia mea sufficit*, and a number of
 other sensible and tender words and demonstrations, such as more could
 not be ; but as touching my Lord of *Essex*, *ne verbum quidem*. Where-
 upon I departed, resting then determined to meddle no more in the
 matter ; that, that I saw would overthrow mee, and not be able to doe
 him any good. And thus I made mine own peace with mine own con-
 fidence at that time ; and this was the last time I saw her Majesty, be-
 fore the 8. of *February*, which was the day of my Lord of *Essex* his
 misfortune, after which time, for that I performed at the barre in my
 publike service, your Lordship knoweth by the rules of duty, that I was

to doe it honestly, and without any prevarication : but for any putting my selfe into it, I protest before God, I never moved neither the Queen, nor any person living concerning my being used in the service, either of evidence or examination : but it was meeerly laid upon me with the rest of my fellowes. And for the time which passed I meane between the arraignment and my Lords suffering, I will remember I was but once with the Queen : at what time though I durst not deale directly formy L O R D as things then stood ; yet generally I did both commend her Majesties mercie, tearming it to her as an excellent balme that did continually distill from her Sovereigne hands, and made an excellent odour in the senses of her people : and not only so, but I took hardinesse to extenuate, not the fact ; for that I durst not, but the danger, telling her that if some base or cruell minded persons had entred into such an action, it might have caused much bloud and combustion : but it appeared well they were such as knew not how to play the malefactors, and some other words which I now omit. And for the rest of the carriage of my selfe in that service, I have many honourable witnesses that can tell, that the next day after my Lords arraignment, by my diligence and information touching the quality and nature of the offenders, 6. of 9. were stayd, which otherwise had bin attainted, I bringing their Lordships letter for their stay, after the Jury was sworn to passe upon them ; so neare it went : and how carefull I was, and made it my part, that whosoever was in trouble about that matter, as soone as ever his case was sufficiently knowne and defined of, might not continue in restraint, but bee set at liberty : and many other parts, which I am well assured stood with the duty of an honest man. But indeed I will not deny for the case of *S. Thomas Smith* of *London*, the Queene demanding my opinion of it, I told her, I thought it was as hard as many of the rest : but what was the reason ; because at that time I had seene only his accusation, &c had never bin present at any examination of his : and the matter so standing, I had bin very untrue to my service, if I had not delivered that opinion. But afterwards upon a reexamination of some that charged him, who weakned their own testimony ; and especially hearing himselfe *viva voce*, I went instantly to the Queen out of the foundnesse of my conscience, and not not regarding what opinion I had formerly delivered, told her Majesty, I was satisfied and resolved in my conscience, that for the reputation of the action, the plot was to countenance the action further by him in respect of his place, then they had indeed any interest or intelligence with him. It is very true also, about that time her Majesty taking a liking of my pen, upon that which I had done before concerning the proceeding

at *Torke-houſe*, and likewise upon ſome other declarations, which in former time by her appointment I put in writing, commanded me to penne that book, which was publiſhed for the better ſatisfaction of the world : which I did, but ſo, as never Secretary had more particular, and expreſſe directions, and inſtructions in every point how to guide my hand in it : and not only ſo, but after that I had made a firſt draught thereof and propounded it to certaine principall Councellers, by her Maſtieſ appointment, it was peruſed, weighed, cenſured, altered, and made almoſt anew, writing according to their Lordſhips better conſideration, wherein their Lordſhips and my ſelfe both were as religious and curious of truth, as deſirous of ſatisfaction : and my ſelfe indeed gave only words and form of ſtile in purſuing their direction. And after it had paſſed their allowance, it was again exactly peruſed by the Queen her ſelfe, and ſome alterations made again by her appointment: nay, and after it was ſet to print, the Queen, who as your Lordſhip knoweth, as ſhe was excellent in great matters, ſo ſhe was exquisite in ſmall : and noted that I could not forget my ancient reſpect to my Lord of *Effex*, in terming him ever My Lord of *Effex*, my Lord of *Effex*, in almoſt every page of the book, which ſhee thought not fit, but would have it made, *Effex*, or the late *Earle of Effex* : whereupon of force it was printed *de novo*, and the firſt copies ſuppreſſed by her peremptory commandement. And this my good Lord, to my furtheſt remembrance, is all that paſſed wherein I had part, which I have ſet downe as neare as I could in the very words and ſpeeches that were uſed, not becauſe they are worthy the repetition, I meane thoſe of mine own; but to the end your Lordſhip may lively and plainly diſcerne between the face of truth, and a ſmooth tale. And the rather alſo becauſe in things that paſſed a good while ſince, the very words and phraſes did ſometimes bring to my remembrance the matters, wherein I report me to your Honourable judgments, whether you do not ſee the traces of an honeſt man : and had I bin as well believed either by the Queene or by my Lord, as I was well heard by them both, my Lord had bin fortunate, and ſo had my ſelfe in his fortune.

To conclude therefore, I humbly pray your Lordſhip to pardon me for troubling you with this long Narration, and that you will vouchſafe to hold me in your good opinion, till you know I have deſerved, or finde that I ſhall deſerve the contrary ; and even ſo I continue.

At Your Lordſhips honourable commandements very humbly.

FINIS.

of the sentence.

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